

the reef. The sea was covered with oil for many days and perfectly calm. The people could not understand this, so they dug up the ground and, by following the oil seepage, came to the grave of Kuialalao, which they found still full of oil.

THE SEISMIC WAVE

Tradition states that directly preceding the seismic wave came a period of license in which the people of the island, led by the woman Wanguna, became blasphemous and gave themselves to sexual license in order that their tricks and their violation of tapus, as the legend somewhat quaintly puts it, would gain them fame in the future ("Wai ai latou tiona ma latou waka-matanga le yi o latou longo ki tupua").

The people broke the tapus on the reserve lands, desecrated the sacred religious enclosures, and turned them to unsacred purposes (*lepu*). The institution of the copulation group (*ati* or *yau*) was developed to a high degree of organization and the people gave themselves over entirely to licentious living. Wanguna herself—ambitious, nymphomaniac, and a sorceress—is reported to have been a woman of gigantic proportions. A man who wished to have intercourse with her had to hollow out the ground that she might lie reasonably level with the ground. The men she craved accommodated her for a time, but soon became tired of her insatiable appetite. All left her but one man named Takalenga, but he too soon went, and when Wanguna saw that other women had lovers while she had none, her desire turned to anger against the people she had led astray. She prayed to the gods of her lineage, Te Atua Vaelua and Te Mangamanga, to punish the people, but the gods delayed their answer. Then one night, desecration reached a climax. The people came back from the reserves and in a wild spirit of recklessness they tore up the gravestones and leveled the stones of the religious structures. All the gods had to take notice of this new outrage and sent the wave to sweep away everything on the island—people, houses, and property. The people looked at the night: thunder was pounding, lightning was striking, the wind was blowing from all directions. Waters raged on the reefs, the sea was constantly rising, the tree tops were bending low. On the next day all the island was broken and everything destroyed. Wanguna and another woman named Tuki took refuge on hillocks in the talo beds of Uta, hillocks that are still called Te Motu-o-Wanguna and Te Motu-o-Tuki. These two women avoided being swept away, and when the anger of the waves was finished, the sea gentle and the reefs low, of the original population only these two women and fifteen men with remnants of their families survived. The names of some of these men are remembered: Te Moana, his son Te Ingoa, Te Longoke, Malowou, Te Woalu-unga-mamao, Matakoo, and Ulo, all of the Muliwutu lineage; Te Kula of Matanga lineage; four men of the Loto lineages of Teu and Yangalipule; and three men of the three Yato lineages. From this little group of people the island was gradually repopulated.

PERIOD AFTER THE WAVE

REHABILITATION

Nothing is known about the time of Te Kula, ninth chief, though it was presumably one of great hardship for the survivors of the wave. The time of Maina, tenth chief, is reckoned to have been a peaceful one (*e vaia waka moemo*). Both he and his executive officer (*wola*), a man named Te Kale, were concerned to husband food supplies and population so that one would not outstrip the other. The population was still small. Maina decreed

173 that all the old villages should be temporarily deserted and that all the people
 791 should come to live together for a time in the one village of Loto. Maina
 168 decreed also that no man should take the life of another, whatever the provo-
 261 cation; that none should live apart from the rest of the people lest he seek
 621 to plot against the others and try by stealth to acquire more food than the
 166 rest. By concentrating the people in one village until the population greatly
 increased, Maina thought all schemes of revolt or killing would be easily
 detected. For a time Kieilu, a great-grandson of Maina and a man of great
 strength, served as Maina's executive agent and saw that his orders were all
 obeyed.

Maina foresaw the time when the people would want to go back to their
 own village sites again, and he thought it best that boundaries should be
 fixed against this time rather than be left to possible brawling and inter-
 village fighting with the victory going to the best fighters and not necessarily
 according to the needs of the population. Hence the stick wrestling contests
 (*tutukianga*) that fixed village boundaries as well as ownership of the re-
 serves were held at this time (p. 33). But as long as the people were grouped
 in the one village, they pooled their food resources.

[244] The village reserves were for the time controlled by the supreme chief of
 the island. Maina decreed that there should be rotation of use between the
 reserve talo beds and privately-owned (lineage) talo beds. This rotation
 was ensured by placing a prohibition (*lani*) of the chief upon the beds not
 in use. He had the people dig new talo pits and plant many nuts. Maina
 also put special controls on fishing, closing some parts of the reef and sea,
 leaving other parts open.

THE LAW OF PULE PAE

173 Tuliayanga, who succeeded his father Maina, carried on the plan of hav-
 731 ing the people live in one village and use all the reserves as a common food
 685 supply. It is evident that the population was increasing more rapidly than
 674 the available food and that much stealing was going on, because Tuliayanga
 had built round the reserve of Uta a high stone wall with but two gates, and
 stationed a strong guard to control the reserve which he made tapu (*uakaya*).
 As this did not stop the stealing by the strong which consequently penalized
 the weak, Tuliayanga called a meeting of the men of the island to discuss
 whether people caught stealing should be put to death. This meeting to
 consider the law of *pule pae* (the guard kills) was heated, and because no
 clear decision could be reached, the matter was submitted to the executive
 officer, Te Tau, to make a final decision for all the people. Te Tau was in
 favor of *pule pae*, which became the law of the land.

539 Three days afterwards the two daughters of Te Tau visited the reserve by stealth
 173 and were caught by the Loto guard. The guard detained the girls and sent word to Te